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30 June 1966

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INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

WORLD REACTION TO THE US BOMBING OF HANOI-HAIPHONG
PETROLEUM INSTALLATIONS ON 29 AND 30 JUNE

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY Directorate of Intelligence 30 June 1966

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM*

World Reaction to the US Bombing of Hanoi-Haiphong
Petroleum Installations on 29 and 30 June

SUMMARY

Up to 1400 EDT, 30 June, world reactions to the US bombing of North Vietnamese petroleum installations near Hanoi and Haiphong on 29 and 30 June had been almost unanimously adverse. No country expressed outright support for the action, though Australia and South Korea accepted the US military judgment, and comments from a few other countries were sufficiently noncommittal to indicate that their governments would not oppose the US move.

^{*}Prepared by the Office of Current Intelligence

I. The USSR and Eastern Europe

- 1. Soviet Premier Kosygin's tepid remarks on the US bombing attacks fit the pattern of Moscow's relatively moderate and ritualistic reaction to date. At a 30 June reception for De Gaulle, Kosygin merely reiterated the theme that US air attacks proved that Washington is not at all interested in a peaceful settlement. Although Kosygin probably felt somewhat restricted by De Gaulle's presence, his comments on the US bombing raids were nonetheless noticeably restrained. As expected, the Soviet-French declaration issued at the conclusion of De Gaulle's visit did not go beyond a general endorsement of support for "a settlement on the basis of the 1954 Geneva agreements, excluding any foreign interference in Vietnam."
- 2. Soviet broadcasting media have issued several low-level commentaries. On 30 June a TASS commentator condemned the "unprecedented barbarity" of the new and "grave crime," and characterized the bombings as an "extremely dangerous step" in the war. However, the Soviet news media demonstrated no more forcefulness in objecting to the recent bombings than to past US air raids against the DRV. TASS stated, "it already has been stressed repeatedly that the aggressors will encounter growing support for Vietnam by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries."
- 3. A. A. Roshchin, the chief Soviet negotiator at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, also made a perfunctory protest against the US action, but at the same time reiterated that a Vietnam solution is not a condition for a disarmament agreement.
- 4. Eastern European reaction to US bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong so far has been predictably critical but fails to make any specific commitment of increased support for North Vietnam. Commentaries from Bucharest, Prague, Warsaw, and East Berlin bitterly assail the "new escalation" of "US brutality" in Vietnam. The Yugoslavs call the bombing a provocation which has "shattered to pieces" US statements on a desire for peace in Vietnam. Belgrade is the only capital to refer directly to the bombing of Haiphong and Hanoi--the others have made the distinction that it was in the "suburbs." No reaction has been noted from Sofia or Tirana.

II. Asian Communist Countries

- 5. In Communist China there has as yet been no authoritative Peking comment on the US bombing of North Vietnamese petroleum installations near Hanoi and Haiphong. The initial Chinese reaction took the form of an NCNA broadcast on 29 June reporting that US aircraft had attacked "the suburbs" of Hanoi and Haiphong and that the North Vietnamese had "fought back heroically" and "won a big victory" by downing seven US planes.
- 6. According to a Reuters report from Peking on 30 June, official circles in the Chinese capital remained silent over the attacks and a government spokesman, when asked for comment, said that he would refer the matter to the appropriate department. Chinese newspapers on 30 June published brief reports of the air attacks but the stories were not given a prominent place in the headlines and there was no editorial comment.
- 7. Hanoi's reaction to the destruction of its major petroleum storage facilities was officially summed up in a sharply worded Foreign Ministry statement of 30 June which labeled the action a "new stage" of escalation by the Americans. The statement failed, however, to hint at plans for any specific retaliation; for example, a rash of guerrilla raids on US fuel depots in South Vietnam.
- 8. The statement called on the socialist countries to increase their support for the "struggling Vietnamese people," thus underlining the growing North Vietnamese dependence on aid from friendly countries to keep the Vietnamese war machine in operation. The destruction of the storage facilities at Haiphong will force the North Vietnamese to rely largely on POL input over the rail lines from China to replenish their stocks.
- 9. As expected, Hanoi has depicted the US raids mainly as a series of indiscriminate attacks on residential and economic targets in the Hanoi-Haiphong area which are not related to the DRV war effort. Hanoi propaganda has also construed the

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attacks as a victory for its air defenses, claiming that seven US aircraft were shot down in one of the raids, and "several" more in another. To bolster this argument, the DRV has issued detailed accounts of the alleged shootdowns and has displayed to the populace of Hanoi the pilot of one of the two US aircraft actually lost in the attacks.

10. North Korea's expectedly vitriolic denunciation of the strikes alleged that the bombing was the first step in President Johnson's plan "to radically expand the Vietnam war." The commentary, broadcast by Pyongyang Radio on 30 June, accused the US Department of State of trying "to shift the responsibility for war escalation to the DRV." Pyongyang's statement, however, threatened no North Korean initiatives in support of Hanoi beyond the standard pledge "to increase assistance to the fighting Vietnamese brothers and surely bring US imperialism, the common enemy, to justice."

III. The British World

- 11. In the <u>United Kingdom</u>, Prime Minister Wilson reiterated his support of the general US position in Vietnam, but dissociated himself and his government from the bombings. He had previously made clear that he would take this stand, and the US Embassy in London has commented that considering his difficult domestic position he went about as far as he was able in support of the United States. The opposition Conservative Party has taken its strongest stand so far in support of the United States, but this probably stems more from a desire to embarrass Wilson than from approval of the bombings.
- 12. Britain's left wing is predictably indignant about the bombings, as expressed by statements in Parliament and by anti-American demonstrations in London.
- 13. Initial press reaction seems more interested in a supposed Anglo-American conflict stemming from Wilson's statement, and in criticizing Wilson's effort to have things both ways, than in the bombing itself. Conservative-inclined papers followed the party in supporting the US action; pro-Labor papers praised Wilson's stand; and the independent London Times expressed understanding of the military reasons for the US decision though it doubted that bombings had ever won a war.
- 14. In Australia, Prime Minister Harold Hold issued a statement on 29 June, almost simultaneously with the US air raids but not specifically referring to them, saying that "no man works harder for peace in Vietnam" than President Johnson and that Australia goes "all the way with LBJ." He was also reported in the press as saying he accepted the US military judgment to bomb North Vietnamese oil depots.
- 15. Prime Minister Pearson of Canada told Commons on 29 June that Canada has always maintained that a letup in air bombings is a prerequisite to peace negotiations in Vietnam and that bombing should be stopped. He added, however, that he understood the United States did not regard the bombing of oil facilities as a change in policy.

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IV. Western Europe

- 16. French President Charles de Gaulle joined Soviet leaders on 30 June in a declaration that the war in Vietnam represents a menace to world peace and that foreign intervention in Vietnam should cease. According to a press report from a French spokesman in Moscow, both De Gaulle and the Soviet leaders had been aware of the US air raids but had refrained from commenting on them during the political discussions or at the French reception held on 29 June. Most French newspapers either condemned the bombings or judged them likely to be ineffective. Only the rightist L'Aurore found them "understandable."
- 17. West German press spokesman Karl-Guenther von Hase announced that his government would register no official reaction to the bombings. In a parallel action, the Erhard cabinet approved the equivalent of \$6.25 million in new technical and humanitarian aid for Vietnam. This act is being construed as reaffirmation of West German faith in US policy.
- 18. The bombings were given widespread coverage in the West German press and radio. The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, a journal of international repute, conceded that the attacks would make the supply of Communist forces in the South more difficult, but that they would not stop the infiltration. The Frankfurter Rundschau, an opposition paper with a generally critical attitude toward US Vietnam policy, said the bombings would reduce US standing in Asia and would push North Vietnam into closer dependency on Peking. Heinz Barth, the Washington correspondent of the respected Die Welt, felt that President Johnson had departed from the "middle course" formerly pursued, but was not yet ready to take extreme steps.
- 19. The official <u>Vatican</u> newspaper <u>Observatore</u> Romano expressed "regret and anxiety" at the bombings and called again for a negotiated settlement of the Vietnamese war.
- 20. The only <u>Scandinavian</u> reaction so far has been from the Norwegian UN delegation in New York.

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The Norwegian chargé there said that the United States is clearly headed toward involvement in war on the Asian mainland for an indefinite period. He believed that the bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong would isolate the United States even further from the rest of the world--including Western Europe--and that they represent a new phase in the war which holds untold risks and dangers.

V. Asia

- 21. The sole reaction so far from the Middle East is from Syria, where a newspaper which speaks for the government denounced the US raids, saying that "America is trying to restore the glories of the 18th and 19th centuries (and)...to impose its new colonialism on the peoples." Nothing has yet been heard from Greece, Turkey, or Iran.
- 22. In India, both Prime Minister Indira
 Gandhi and Foreign Minister Swaran Singh have publicly expressed deep concern and distress. Both remarked on the danger of an escalation of hostilities and hoped that the bombings would stop immediately. No comment has been received from Pakistan. Pakistani reaction is likely to be less than enthusiastic, however, in view of the statement on 29 June in the final communique closing the 11th SEATO ministerial conference in Canberra that Pakistan was concerned "over the grave consequences to world peace that are likely to result from a continuation of the armed conflict." Pakistani Government reaction is also likely to be inhibited by the fact that Chinese Premier Chou En-lai ended a visit in Pakistan on 30 June.
- 23. Initial official Japanese reaction, as expressed by the Foreign Ministry, views the bombing of petroleum facilities at Hanoi and Haiphong as an extension of the policy of limited attacks on targets connected with North Vietnam's war effort. The likelihood of Chinese Communist retaliation was played down. Foreign Minister Shiina termed the bombings an "inevitable step" and said Japan has no intention to ask the United States to halt them. Leftist reaction, as displayed by the Japanese socialists and labor, has been critical. A Socialist statement emphasizes the danger of total war in Asia. Students and labor organizations are conducting protest demonstrations.
- 24. The South Korean foreign minister has announced that his government considers the recent US bombing at Hanoi and Haiphong as "appropriate in view of the current phase of the war." Official statements have reflected satisfaction that Seoul had been given advance notice of the bombing.

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- 25. The <u>Hong Kong</u> Government expressed concern over press reports linking the US aircraft carriers Ranger and Constellation to the bombing. It has queried London on a decision to permit the impending rest and relaxation visit of the <u>Ranger</u> to the colony.
 - 26. No <u>Indonesian</u> comment has been reported.

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VI. OTHER

- 27. Latin America, as usual, is responding slowly to news of the Hanoi-Haiphong air raids. The sole comment received to date is from Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, who said in a speech on the night of 29 June that the US bombings are "one more criminal adventuristic step which is driving the world toward a conflict of vast proportions." Castro said also that the new US policy stems from growing world opposition to the US Vietnamese position and that President Johnson is simply following in Hitler's footsteps.
- 28. No reaction has been received from Africa as yet. African countries are consistently slow in voicing reactions—if they do so at all.
- 29. United Nations Secretary General Thant expressed "deep regret" over the bombing. Other comment heard in UN corridors was sparse but mainly unfavorable.